648 609 Also, the attitude of two bands who know that they are neighbors is very significant. They fear the clash of contact, and at the same time they desire it. In fact, they cannot meet one another accidentally, for for several weeks they watch the vertical smoke from the campfire which rises, perfectly discernable at some twenty kilometers, into the middle of the clear sky of the cold season. It is one of the most impressive spectacles of the Nambikwara territories when towards evening this smoke suddenly fills a horizon which one had thought deserted. Is the band which approaches friend or foe? They do not know, and they discuss at length their course of conduct. For days or weeks they avoid one another by maintaining a reasonable distance between the fires, then one day, according to whether the contact appears inevitable, desirable, or necessary, the women and children scatter in the bush and the men leave to face the unknown. We attended one of these "encounters" (nakohattige, bl). A long conversation is entered upon (dehihotige, bl) between the two bands reduced to their masculine elements, or more exactly, the leaders undertake, in turn, a sort of prolonged monologue, composed of exclamations, uttered one after another, in a tone at the same time plaintive and tearful, where the voice rises and trails off in nasal fashion at the end of each word. The group animated by warlike intentions exposes its grief. The peaceful protest their good intentions. It was not possible for us to reconstruct the word for word translation of this discourse. However, we give here the indian text, insofar as we have been [92] able to get it, and its approximate translation, for the purpose of showing the construction and specific tone:

[533] 38. One group begins: nisiroehdige? nindige. -"We are very irritated! you are our enemies!" And, after a series of exclamations of this type, the other replies: ki orage? tonaden? nuhaigi?n nikmaetie? nikmaini? nihenizenohi?n moladeringa?n nagatalinjot endige?. -- "We are not irritated! We are your brothers! We are friends! Your friends! True friends! We can understand one another." (bl)

After having exchanged these peaceful protestations, the groups reform and a common encampment is organized, each group preserving its individuality and gathering together its fires, and sometimes songs and dances are organized in the course of which each group disparages its own exhibition to the profit of that of the other group.

collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ẽednãẽ ɡõdegãẽ kakonɁẽ ordnɁẽ ɡalaɡɨẽnɁẽ (b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not. Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.